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The more engrossing pastime of war, one is still happier to say, is now a thing of the past. The Orokaiva are a high-spirited and warlike people, and at no very distant date were frequently engaged in raiding, killing, and eating one another; and life in those times must have involved an anxiety, but also an alertness which are now entirely absent.

Nevertheless, the Orokaiva still loves the appearance of battle—perhaps more, indeed, than he ever loved its deadly realities. No sight is more typical of the people than that of the constantly recurring *esu*, sham-fight or hostile demonstration, with its charge and counter-charge, the forming in line of the warriors, crouched behind their shields and with spears in readiness. Such a demonstration is likely to occur whenever one group of clans enters the village of another, whether to accept hospitality or upon some business such as that of obtaining the bride-price of one of its daughters. On such an occasion one may always hear fierce harangues and altercations, the speaker running back and forth between the two parties, pausing before his auditors and brandishing his spear-point at their very throats. When he retires one of the opposite faction will assume the role of abuse and threatened violence. As a rule this will all pass off in friendliness unless perhaps some man lose his temper in earnest at the resuscitation of some especially bitter grievance, or as sometimes happens, the inflammatory taunts of an old woman, armed aggressively with her long quarterstaff, set the whole in a blaze. Then the sham fight turns into a real *mêlée* in which blows of spear and club are dealt with great freedom and received for the most part safely on the shield. But still the restraint of modern times will prevail. The village constable (unless he has forgotten his office in the heat of the moment and is already wielding a spear) dashes forward with his jangling handcuffs prepared to make an arrest—most likely no doubt on the side opposed to his own, the uproar dies away with nothing worse than a few cuts and bruises, and the business and hospitality of the day will even go on as if nothing had happened. Such friendly bouts as these are all that remain of the fighting days of the Orokaiva.

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Guinea man cannot write his name on paper so he leaves his name behind him in another fashion. I should look about me', he said, 'and find some tree with a name like "Waiwa", break off a branch of it, and leave it by the broken taro tops. Then my friend, the owner of the garden, when he saw that sign, would say "Aha, Waiwa is welcome to my taro".'

In the article referred to elsewhere in this report, viz. 'The Movements of the Tribes of the Mambare Division of Northern Papua' (Chinnery and Beaver), there is an interesting anecdote,[1] still well remembered in the region of which it is told. The Binandele, led by a man Waia, had been raiding on the river Gira, and searching for their real enemies had in error attacked the Yema tribe, killed the chief, and captured a youth Jiani. For this unhappy mistake Waia expresses his sorrow, and desires that Kewatai, the absent son of the chief, be sent on a visit to the Binandele country in order to effect reconciliation and alliance.

'Then Waia said, "My name is Waia; can you remember this name?" Jiani replied, "Yes; we call this tree (pointing to a certain tree called Warawa in Binandele) Waia." The chief then cut off a piece of the bark, and gave it to Jiani for remembrance, and told him to put it in Kewatai's house, and to tell him that he (Waia) was sorry.'

When Kewatai does visit the Binandele country, it is only by remembering the name of Waia that he saves himself from being eaten.

In such uses as these the *heratu* is something more primitive than a pictograph; it is a very material symbol, a sort of vegetable signature.

The Heratu as Totem

Throughout this chapter I have avoided the word 'totem', using in preference the non-committal, if awkward, phrase 'plant emblem'. I may now review the evidence which might have justified the use of the former term.

(1) The *heratu* is normally connected with a definite social group, viz. the clan (though sometimes with the individual and his immediate family).

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 159.

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and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another, for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction [266] —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances, any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most of the fighting described in the following chapter will be of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*, and although the friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimitation of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name. I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

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Reasons for Raiding

721 The reasons for the inter-clan fighting are easy to understand: they are in the main nothing more than quarrels between hot-blooded neighbours. The reasons for the deliberate raid or *isoro*, which involves cannibalism, are not so obvious. Very commonly the raid was meant to avenge [602] some previous victim, for vengeance was absolutely imperative to the relatives of a slain man; and the expression for revenge itself is an interesting one, viz. *diroga-mine*, or an 'exchange of *diroga*', the latter meaning the spirit of a man slain in fight in contradistinction to the spirit of one who has died in any other way. Instances of compounding are apparently rare, and it may be (though I cannot speak with certainty) that the practice of compounding for death obtains between clans only, and not between tribes. The [628] compensation or blood-price, consisting of pigs and ornaments, is called *dorobu*, which word stands also for marriage payment. Between tribes, however, who normally stand in the mutual relation of *kitobu* it would seem that such amicable settlement is rare if not impossible. To show how im- [765] perative is the need for revenge I may mention the former rule that the widow of a man slain by an enemy tribe must continue her seclusion until the capture and killing of a man from that tribe made it possible for her to emerge from it.

I cannot find any binding ceremonial necessity for a raid other than the one just mentioned (and that is really a reason for returning a raid, not for making one in the first place). It appears that the corpses of victims were used in [585] payment for marriage, either *a-dorobu* or *bi-dorobu*, or for gifts between relatives. But this was probably a matter of convenience: I have no evidence that a corpse was *necessarily* part of the marriage payment. Then again there is the [881] matter of homicidal insignia. Although these are sometimes called *otobu* in common with the *otobu* given at initiation (*vide* pp. 201 ff.), it is not to be supposed that the latter were necessarily homicidal, i.e. that the killing of an enemy was demanded before a youth or girl could pass through the ceremony of receiving an *otobu*. In short, I do not know of

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any ceremonial necessity, other than that implied by revenge, which demanded a cannibal raid.

Cannibalism

The reason for cannibalism itself has been given by natives as the simple desire for good food. Indeed, we might profitably seek to explain why some people are *not* cannibals rather than why some people are. Anthropologically speaking the fact that we ourselves should persist in a superstitious, or at least sentimental, prejudice against human flesh is more puzzling than the fact that the Orokaiva, a born hunter, should see fit to enjoy perfectly good meat when he gets it. The aversion from cannibalism within the tribe is presumably to be ascribed to the same sentimental reason which, with a wider scope, turns us against human flesh in general. It was the custom to eat all victims made in an *isoro*, and they were only abandoned when the fear of counter-attack made the raiders leave in too great a hurry to be encumbered, or, as some informants have said, when the victims were so old, scraggy, and wrinkled as to be not worth the carrying.

When the victorious raiders returned they announced their success from afar off by a distinctive rhythm on the *hui* which (according to Aiga informants) may be represented thus:

— — - —, — — - — —.

There were conventional songs proper to the occasion, such as (an Aiga example),

Eruga tune kambaja-one
Eruga leaf seasoning
Isuga tune kambaja-one
Isuga leaf seasoning

by which the women were given to understand that they should prepare 'cabbage' for the cooking; or (a Sangara example)

Umo tibue kiari-ta koiko-ta,

which indicated that the enemy had fled (*koiko*), anxious to see (*kiari*) the familiar place where they drew water (*umo*

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The distinction is simply between fellow men and men who are not fellows.

Extra-Group Morality

Since the interest of this chapter will be principally with intra-group morality we may dismiss the other side of the question rather briefly. We have seen that the Orokaiva tribe lived in a state of ever-recurring warfare with some or other of its neighbours. There were peace-makings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no village lived in permanent security. The Orokaiva achieved and probably deserved a warlike reputation, and in such conditions it is not surprising that they should set some store upon the virtue of bravery—though it does not seem to take the foremost place that we might expect. A brave warrior was called *koropa-embo*, a 'spearman', or *ivu-embu*, a 'manly man', *ivu* being the word for husband or a fully matured man. Another term is *sarika*, which is perhaps best translated 'formidable', and connotes not only fierceness but size and strength. (By way of example one of the late magistrates of the Division was called *sarika* on account of stature, and another on account of his severity.) A coward is called *atoba-embo* or *jouro-huso*, and of course there are to be found some cowards among a generally brave race. Some of my informants in one village named a few men as *atoba* (and it is interesting to note in passing that, like true native gentlemen, they named them in whispers for fear the men in question should overhear and have their feelings hurt).

But more striking than any bravery is the sheer bloodthirstiness which seems actually to be raised to the status of a virtue. It is not for fearlessness that the insignia called *esa* or *otohu* (p. 177) are bestowed, but for the mere taking of human life. Many an old warrior, counting over his victims, will show as great a pride in the slaughter of women and children as in a man-to-man victory; and indeed the majority of Orokaiva victims have met their end in surprise and massacre rather than in fair fight. While I have found no evidence to show that the Orokaiva was expected some-

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he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.

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Conclusion

In conclusion, it could be said that the Orokaiva have a fairly weak system of social control. The sanctions against wrongdoing are all diffuse, and do not always work successfully. There seems to be a complete absence of any effective judicial system. A thief or a murdering sorcerer has to be caught in the act to be punished at all. There is no machinery for discovering the culprit.[10] In a domestic crisis, a woman will "retaliate" by leaving her husband ostensibly with no one to cook for him, but it is easy for him to find someone willing to do his cooking. He does this by invoking pity. If a situation is unbearable, an individual can always leave the village. A woman can go to her kinsfolk, and a man to his *naname's* village.

The only person an Orokaiva can punish effectively is himself. There seems to be a good deal of impotent rage in the destruction of a man's own property in a fit of *sisira*. Also, the wronged man is sorry for himself, and he ensures that everyone else, including the person who wronged him, feels sorry for him, too. The masochistic sanction of self-injury, with the purpose of invoking the criminal's pity, is in direct contrast to the outward aggression of the Orokaiva's traditional relations with the hostile Tagaho and Managalasi. It is possible that the weakness of the internal judicial system was originally due to the necessity for keeping overt aggression geared towards the enemy groups. To maintain constant warfare with outsiders, internal aggression had to be severely limited, even aggression towards wrongdoers. Hence, perhaps, the unwillingness to ferret out the culprit when a theft occurs or a person dies from sorcery, unless the criminal is actually caught in the act.

The relationship between institutionalized friendship and social control is ambiguous. A man's *naname* are his contemporaries who were secluded with him in the *oro* during his initiation, and other friends he may acquire later. Every man has many *naname* scattered throughout neighbouring and distant villages. Being somebody's *naname* constitutes a bond which overrides all other considerations. A man's loyalty to his *naname* is said to be stronger than his loyalty to his family and his relatives. Although, theoretically, a man who is *otohu* never quarrels and brawls, if he is involved in brawls in defence of a *naname* he is paradoxically judged to be more *otohu* than ever. So strong is the bond between *naname* that in fact men cannot conceive of committing offences against anyone who stands in this relationship to them.[11] This attitude tends to be extended to friends of a man's *naname*, so normally there are very few people in the community who are potential victims of, say, a man's impulse to steal. Considered as an instrument of social control, institutionalized friendship minimizes the possibility of deviance.

Formerly, the conduct of wars and cannibal raids was determined largely by this institution. The Koropata people who went to help their allies at Isivita in a

[10] L. A. Flint (*Papuan Annual Report*, 1924–25, p. 43) describes various ways of tracing the sorcerer, but says nothing of the effectiveness of these methods. Certainly in 1951 the Wasida and Koropata people seemed sceptical of these methods and said that they did not bother trying to discover the sorcerer by these means.

[11] One informant went so far as to say that if a man were to discover that he had committed some offence against his *naname* "by mistake," he would kill himself.

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war against the Managalasi were those who had friends at Isivita and those who were friends (*naname*) of men already committed by friendship to go. The conduct of warfare depended upon these personal links between *naname*, who had a binding obligation to fight for one another. The Wasida people still say of their traditional enemies (the Togaho, the Managalasi, and the Orokaiva of Sairope), "We have no friends among them." Having no friends among them, and having no friends in common with them, they were free to fight.

Institutionalized friendship also operates against social control, in regard to the consequences of wrongdoing. If a man is driven from his own village by shame for a wrong he has committed, he is welcomed by his *naname*, whose hospitality is always ready. It is impossible for a man to be a social outcast, as he can stay in his *naname's* village as long as he likes as a welcome and honoured guest.

Therefore, social control amongst the Orokaiva is perhaps weaker than it is in the more formalized societies, because of the internal stresses imposed by constantly recurring warfare, and because also the efficient conduct of wars and cannibal raids involved the institutionalization of friendship to such a degree that it provides, even to-day, a loophole for the deviant. On the other hand, this institution itself tends to minimize the possibility of deviance by providing each man with a category of people towards whom it is inconceivable that he should act otherwise than in strict accordance with the *otoku* ideals.

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